

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 218780

70

ORIGIN ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07

IO-10 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01

SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00

NSC-05 /089 R

DRAFTED BY ACDA/IR:JYOUNG:SHC

APPROVED BY ACDA/IR:AFLOYD

EUR:DJONES

PM:CFLOWERREE

OSD:LMICHAEL

JCS:RMCCANN

NSC:MHIGGINS

C:WSHINN

ACDA:DENGEL

S/S:REWOODS

----- 097205

P R 132043Z SEP 75

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BONN

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T STATE 218780

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PARM, NATO, MBFR

SUBJECT: MBFR: SUGGESTED CHANGES TO GUIDANCE ON MANPOWER
LIMITS

REFS: A. STATE 215977 DTG 110244Z SEP 75
SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 218780

-----B. STATE 215647 DTG 102320Z SEP 75

-----C. NATO 4869 DTG 091005Z SEP 75

-----D. NATO 4950 DTG 121433Z SEP 75

1. WE CANNOT ACCEPT PROPOSED BELGIAN SENTENCE FOR PARA 4 OF DRAFT GUIDANCE (PARA 9, REFTEL C), FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

A. BELGIAN SENTENCE WOULD AUTHORIZE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS TO ENGAGE IN A DISCUSSION OF THE ADEQUACY OF MANPOWER LIMITS IN CONSTRAINING EQUIPMENT IN CONNECTION WITH THE INITIAL ALLIED PRESENTATION OF OPTION III, WHICH IS THE SUBJECT OF PARA 4. WE DO NOT BELIEVE ANY SUCH SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION OF ARMAMENT LIMITATIONS AT THE OUTSET IS APPROPRIATE. THE FIRST SENTENCE OF THAT PARA REFLECTS THE ALLIED CONSENSUS ON THIS POINT.

B. FURTHERMORE, THE BELGIAN SENTENCE CONTAINS THE IMPLICATION THAT MANPOWER LIMITS ALONE WOULD ADEQUATELY CONSTRAIN EQUIPMENT WHICH WAS SPECIFICALLY REDUCED BY THE AGREEMENT (E.G., SOVIET TANKS). THIS IS AN ARGUMENT THE AHG HAS NEVER USED.

2. BEGIN FYI: AS REFTEL B INDICATED, WE ARE AWARE OF THE SUBSTANTIVE DEFECTS OF ARGUMENTS LINKING MANPOWER TO EQUIPMENT:

--THE APPROACH OF LINKING MANPOWER TO EQUIPMENT DOES NOT HOLD UP WHEN APPLIED AT AGGREGATE LEVELS (I.E., IN TERMS OF TOTAL MANPOWER STRENGTH AND SPECIFIC TYPES OF EQUIPMENT) FOR EXAMPLE, 3,000 MEN ARE ASSOCIATED WITH THE 36 US PERSHING LAUNCHERS AND 54 US F-4 AIRCRAFT INCLUDED IN THE WESTERN NUCLEAR OFFER. IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO PROVE THAT THE ALLIES COULD NOT MAKE UP THIS RELATIVELY SMALL AMOUNT OF MANPOWER, GIVEN THE RESIDUAL ALLIED MANPOWER POOL COMPRISING APPROXIMATELY 760,000 SOLDIERS AND 195,000 AIRMEN.

--IT COULD OFFER THE SOVIETS AN EXCUSE TO ATTEMPT TO INTERFERE IN WESTERN DEFENSE AFFAIRS. BECAUSE MANPOWER IMPOSES AN EFFECTIVE CONSTRAINT ON ARMAMENTS ONLY AT DISAGGREGATED LEVELS, THE WEST COULD POSSIBLY PROVIDE AN
SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 218780

OPENING FOR THE SOVIETS TO ATTEMPT TO LIMIT MANPOWER BY FUNCTION AND UNIT, AN OUTCOME THAT WOULD CONSTRAIN RESTRUCTURING AND OTHER FORCE IMPROVEMENTS.

--WESTERN ARGUMENTS THAT MANPOWER LIMITATIONS SUFFICE IN LIMITING ARMAMENTS COULD JEOPARDIZE ATTAINMENT OF THE ALLIED OBJECTIVE OF A LIMIT ON SOVIET TANKS AT POST-REDUCTION LEVELS.

--IF THE AGREEMENT ENDORSED THE PRINCIPLE THAT MANPOWER LIMITS SUFFICE IN CONSTRAINING ARMAMENTS, IT WOULD PROBABLY TEND TO LIMIT NATO MORE THAN THE PACT. THE PERFORMANCE OF THE SOVIET UNION IN CONFORMING TO PREVIOUS ACCORDS SUGGESTS

THAT THEY ARE LIKELY TO FEEL BOUND TO OBSERVE ONLY EXPLICIT LIMITATIONS AND TO STRETCH LOOSE RESTRICTIONS. THE WEST, ON THE CONTRARY, IS CONSTRAINED BY THE OPENNESS OF ITS SOCIETIES AND ITS PARLIAMENTARY PROCESSES TO ABIDE BY HIGHER STANDARDS OF SELF-ENFORCEMENT. END FYI.

3. WE NOTE THAT AT SEPT. 11 SPC MEETING (REFTEL D), WHILE UK INDICATED AGREEMENT TO DROP THE LANGUAGE IN PARA 7, THE FRG AND BELGIAN REPS SUPPORTED IT. WE WOULD THEREFORE OFFER THE FOLLOWING COMPROMISE LANGUAGE (BASED ON PARA 18 OF THE SUPPLEMENT) FOR PARA 7 OF THE GUIDANCE: "IF THE EAST ASKS FOR LIMITS ON ALLIED NUCLEAR ELEMENTS, THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS SHOULD ANSWER, AS APPROPRIATE, THAT SUCH LIMITS ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE TO THE WEST. THE ONLY ACCEPTABLE LIMITATION ON NON-US ALLIES WOULD BE THOSE RESULTING IN PRACTICE FROM COLLECTIVE LIMITS ON ALLIED AIR AND GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN THE AREA."

4. BEFORE TABLING THE COMPROMISE LANGUAGE IN PARA 3 ABOVE, MISSION SHOULD REVIEW RATIONALE IN FYI SECTION (PARA 2 ABOVE) WITH NATO FRG REP, AND ASSURE HIM THAT, IN THE US VIEW, THE SUBSTITUTION OF OUR COMPROMISE LANGUAGE WOULD STRENGTHEN THE ALLIANCE POSITION IN RESISTING EASTERN PRESSURES FOR LIMITS ON ALLIED EQUIPMENT. KISSINGER

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AGREEMENT DRAFT, MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS, OPTION III, ARMS CONTROL MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 13 SEP 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: greeneet
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE218780
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: ACDA/IR:JYOUNG:SHC
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D750318-0581
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197509104/baaaabmv.tel
Line Count: 135
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: greeneet
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <09 APR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <10 OCT 2003 by greeneet>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: n/a
TAGS: PARM, NL, NATO, MBFR
To: NATO INFO LONDON
BONN
MBFR VIENNA
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR
Type: TE

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006